

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 146487

NODIS

FOR AMB YOUNG FROM UNA

FOL RPT DAR ES SALAAM 2455 ACTION SECSTATE 8 JUN 78 QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 2455

NODIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PEPR, US, FR, TZ

SUBJECT: NYERERE ON WESTERN NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

REF: A) DAR ES SALAAM 2453 B) DAR ES SALAAM 2454

1. SUMMARY: THE MAIN SIGNIFICANCE OF NYERERE'S JUNE 8 BLAST
AT WESTERN NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA IS THAT IT REPRESENTS A
SUDDEN (BUT POSSIBLY TEMPORARY) COLLAPSE OF FAITH IN US
INTENTIONS. IN RESPONSE TO IT, OUR FIRST ACT SHOULD BE TO SET
THE RECORD STRAIGHT THAT USG IS NOT DOING
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THE THINGS NYERERE ALLEGES. WE SHOULD THEN DECIDE WHETHER WE
WANT TO (A) TREAT THE OUTBURST IN A NARROW FRAMEWORK WHILE
CONTINUING BUSINESS AS USUAL, (B) MAKE CLEAR OUR DISPLEASURE
ABOUT NYERERE'S LACK OF FAITH IN US AND PULL BACK SOMEWHAT FROM
RECENT ACTIVE AND INTIMATE COOPERATION WITH HIM, WHILE WAITING
TO SEE HOW FAR HE INTENDS TO GO, OR (C) ABANDON OUR EFFORTS TO
SEEK AND RETAIN MAJOR AREAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST WITH RADICAL

AFRICAN NYERERE. I RECOMMEND FOR TIME BEING AT LEAST COURSE
(A). END SUMMARY.

2. IT IS INTERESTING TO SPECULATE ON WHAT NYERERE MIGHT HAVE
DONE IF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER DISAVOWING ANY OF THE
COLONIALIST ACTIVITIES NYERERE FEARS HAD REACHED NYERERE BEFORE
HIS PUBLIC BLAST. ON BALANCE, I THINK HE WAS SUFFICIENTLY
KEYED UP THAT HE WOULD HAVE GONE AHEAD ANYWAY. THE IMPORTANT
FACT AT THE MOMENT IS THAT HIS TRUST IN US HAS COLLAPSED --EVEN
IF ONLY TEMPORARILY. THE INSPIRATION FOR THE OUTBURST IS UNCER-
TAIN, BUT IT IS PROBABLY BASED ON NYERERE'S HABITUAL WIDE
LISTENING TO RADIO AND NEWS MEDIA AND HIS TENDENCY TO ASSUME THAT
WESTERN MEDIA EXPLANATIONS REPRESENT GOVERNMENT DECISIONS. IT
IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT SOMEONE HAS DELIBERATELY SUPPLIED HIM WITH
INFORMATION DESIGNED TO PROVE HIS SUSPICIONS CORRECT.

3. IN ANY EVENT, WE ARE DEALING ONCE AGAIN WITH THE "OLD NYERERE",
THE SUPER-SENSITIVE, SUSPICIOUS, VOLATILE ONE THAT WE HAVE NOT
SEEN SINCE COOPERATION WITH HIM WAS ESTABLISHED ON SOUTHERN
AFRICAN MATTERS. WE ARE REMINDED ALSO OF THE NYERERE WHO IS
INTENSELY JEALOUS OF HIS RIGHT TO LECTURE ANYONE AND EVERYONE ON
REAL OR FANCIED FAULTS, INCLUDING PRAISING AND DAMNING THE SAME
TARGET FOR DIFFERENT THINGS AT THE SAME TIME. IT IS WORTH
NOTING THAT HE DID NOT MENTION RHODESIA OR NAMIBIA, WHICH
SUGGESTS THAT HE MAY BE READY TO CONTINUE, IF MORE SUSPICIOUSLY,
COOPERATION WITH THE WEST ON THESE ISSUES.
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4. THE FIRST THING WE SHOULD DO IS TO MAKE CLEAR BOTH PUBLICLY
AND PRIVATELY THAT NYERERE'S CHARGES OF US INVOLVEMENT IN NEO-
COLONIALISM IN AFRICA ARE UNFOUNDED. THE PURPOSES HE ATTRI-
BUTES TO THE WASHINGTON PARIS, AND BRUSSELS MEETINGS ARE SIMPLY
INCORRECT.. SINCE HE HAS MADE THE CHARGES WITH MAXIMUM
PUBLICITY, WE SHOULD REPLY PUBLICLY AND UNCATEGORICALLY, BUT
WITHOUT MAKING THE RESPONSE A PERSONAL ATTACK ON HIM. WE
SHOULD ALSO TAKE CARE NOT TO ENCOURAGE MORE COVERAGE OF OUR
REPLY THAN HIS CHARGE GETS IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA. (WHAT
WAS THE EVENT OF THE YEAR IN DAR ES SALAAM MAY TURN OUT TO BE
NOTHING AT ALL ON THE FRONT PAGES OF THE WORLD PRESS.)

5. WE NEED THEN TO DECIDE (A) WHETHER WE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO CON-
TINUE USEFUL COOPERATION WITH NYERERE, LARGELY IGNORING HIS
OUTBURST EXCEPT FOR PARA 4 ABOVE, (B) WHETHER IN VIEW OF HIS
LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN US, WE SHOULD DEMONSTRATE A RECIPROCAL
DOUBT BY PULLING BACK IN OUR RELATIONSHIP, OR (C) WHETHER WE
SHOULD CONCLUDE THAT FRUITFUL COOPERATION WITH RADICAL AFRICANS,
OR AT LEAST WITH THIS PARTICULAR ONE, IS USELESS, AND SET OUR
POLICY WITHOUT REGARD TO HIS FEELINGS.

6. I RECOMMEND THE FIRST COURSE, WITH A FALL BACK TO THE SECOND ONLY IF NYERERE'S CURRENT NEGATIVE ATTITUDE PERSISTS AND SPREADS TO OTHER ISSUES, E.G., RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, AND THE PEACE CORPS. THAT NYERERE IS IN FACT INCORRECT IN HIS CHARGES IS IMPORTANT. IF HE COMES TO REALIZE THIS AS A RESULT OF REEXAMINATION OF THE SITUATION, LACK OF SUPPORT FOR HIS EXTREME POSITION FROM OTHER AFRICAN STATES, AND THE COURSE OF EVENTS, HE WILL NOT RETRACT, BUT HE WILL IGNORE OR EVEN REVERSE HIS POSITION.

7. AN OPERATIONAL QUESTION IMMEDIATELY ARISES. WHAT SHOULD WE DO ABOUT PRESIDENT CARTER'S REPLY TO NYERERE'S LETTER IN WHICH NYERERE'S SUSPICIONS WERE FIRST RAISED IN A PRIVATE AND MORE MODERATE WAY? I AM INTRIGUED WITH THE IDEA OF SIMPLY GOING
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AHEAD AND SENDING A LETTER OF THE KIND WE HAVE CONSIDERED, DATING IT JUNE 8, AND LETTING NYERERE WONDER WHETHER IT WAS WRITTEN BEFORE OR AFTER HIS OUTBURST. THIS COULD PRIVATELY EMBARRASS HIM AND ENCOURAGE HIM TO STOP AND PERHAPS EVEN REGRET WHAT HE IS DOING. (THE LETTER WOULD HAVE TO GET HERE EXPEDITIOUSLY.)

8. IN ADDITION TO THE PUBLIC STATEMENT RECOMMENDED IN PARA 4 ABOVE, I COULD THEN EXPRESS MY OWN DEEP PERSONAL REGRET THAT NYERERE DID NOT GIVE US TIME TO PRESENT HIM WITH THE TRUE FACTS. I WOULD ALSO TELL HIM THAT, HOWEVER LEGITIMATE HIS LOGIC, HIS SUSPICIONS WERE SIMPLY UNFOUNDED, AND HIS EXPRESSION OF THEM INEVITABLY MAKES MORE DIFFICULT THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO WORK ON AFRICAN SOLUTIONS OF THE KIND ON WHICH WE ARE BOTH AGREED.

9. THE SECOND US OPTION, TO PULL BACK, COULD INVOLVE, IN ADDITION TO OUR PUBLIC STATEMENT, A MORE DIRECT AND FORCEFUL RESPONSE FROM PRESIDENT CARTER DIRECTED SPECIFICALLY TO NYERERE'S PUBLIC PRESENTATION. WE MIGHT ALSO UNDERTAKE A NOTICEABLE REDUCTION IN OUR EFFORTS TO COOPERATE WITH NYERERE ON NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. I COULD STRONGLY EXPRESS MY DISTRESS THAT NYERERE HAD NOT WARNED US IN ADVANCE OF WHAT HE INTENDED TO DO AND THAT HE HAD SO LITTLE FAITH IN US ON THE COLONIALIST ISSUE. I COULD NOT HELP BUT WONDER WHAT THIS BODED FOR OUR ABILITY TO CONTINUE TO COOPERATE ON OTHER QUESTIONS.

10. THE THIRD OPTION, "GIVE UP ON RADICAL AFRICA", WOULD CENTER ON TREATING WHAT NYERE HAS DONE AS A RUDE AND INSULTING ACT AND REACTING ACCORDINGLY. ASIDE FROM NYERERE'S PERSONAL DISCOURTESY TO PRESIDENT CARTER IN GOING PUBLIC IN MIDSTREAM, HE HAS DAMAGED THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S ARGUMENT AT HOME FOR APPROACHING SOUTHERN AFRICA PROBLEMS IN COOPERATION WITH
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AFRICAN STATES LIKE TANZANIA. WE WOULD LET NYERERE KNOW UNMISTAKABLY THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO LOOK THAT SITUATION REGRETFULLY BUT SQUARELY IN THE FACE. IF THAT IS THE WAY HE WANTS TO DO BUSINESS, WE SEE NO POINT IN SEEKING CONTINUED COOPERATION.

11. AS INDICATED, I WOULD LIKE TO TRY THE FIRST COURSE -- IF YOU FEEL IT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY, REVISED TO BRING IN A NEW BUT NON-CONFRONTATIONAL PRESIDENTIAL LETTER, SUPPLEMENTED BY TALKING POINTS ON WHATEVER FEELING OK REGRET DEPARTMENT THINKS IT NECESSARY TO EXPRESS. IN ANY EVENT, I WOULD WELCOME DEPARTMENT'S REACTION ASAP.
SPAIN

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